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tic testimony is vague, the reasons advanced are unsettled. The Roman view is only a hypothesis.

But these illustrations of the more personal element in Professor Guignebert's book must suffice.

In concluding this brief review I quote from the author's *Avant-propos* a sentence whose truth needs frequent recognition: "Je crois fermement, et de plus en plus, que suivant, sans y prendre assez garde, la tendance naturelle, indispensable même, aux confessionnels et surtout aux catholiques, nous majorons beaucoup trop nos connaissances sur nombre de questions chrétiennes; nous ne savons pas assez nous résoudre à ignorer ce que pourtant les textes ne nous disent pas."

GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT

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SOME MATTERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

Every student of mediaeval history or literature should feel himself a debtor to the editors of this work.[1] The *De contemptu mundi* of Bernard of Cluny is one of the most valuable sources we possess for the ascetic interpretation of feudal society in the twelfth century. Written in dactylic rhymed hexameter, the poem has a certain moral kinship with Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*—the pithy, sententious, moral observation of the former; the detachedness and lofty scorn of the latter, though of course shot through and through with the morbidly ascetic ideas of the Middle Ages and tinted with that cloistered radiance that never shone on sea or land.

To the scholar whose mind is steeped in the lore of things long ago, these pages are luminous. There is something romantic yet Spartan in the vision of the Elysian brightness of the adornéd earth in the Golden Age of the race (Book II, 129–32). There are vivid pictures of mediaeval society—the feudal strife that recalls the Truce of God; the fighting cleric; the warrior abbot; the sleek, well-fed bishop, "a fatted fowl filling the useless sepulchre of his belly," going forth to hunt of a morning, mounted upon a Spanish barb, with a pack of hunting dogs better fed than the peasants (160–61). The corruption of Rome and the papal curia is visited with scathing censure (164–67). But though the clergy comes in for bitterest scorn no class of mediaeval society escapes. The bailiff "who judges

[1] *The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden."* Together with Other Pieces Attributed to Bernard of Cluny. In English Translation by Henry Preble. Introduction, Notes, and Annotated Bibliography by Samuel Macauley Jackson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. vi+207 pages. $1.38.

without judgment"; the fraudulent tax-gatherer; the cheating merchant; even the peasant who filches grain are all pilloried. Characteristically mediaeval is the ferocious invective against woman (139–43). Certain portions paint the society of France in the twelfth century like that of Israel in the pages of Hosea. Bernard's passion is excessive no doubt, and his vision warped, yet the careful student of the history of morals, reading between the lines, will find much of value here. Certain allusions have concrete interest for culture history, e.g., the reference to linen undergarments on p. 131; to the *Lex Theodosiana*, (137), showing that revived interest in Roman law with which every scholar is familiar; to the plowman who swears his neighbor's planted fields are his own, a most interesting reference to the confusion which characterized the complex manorial system (137).

There are terse, moral sentiments that remind of Sir Thomas Browne's wonderful essay on "Urn Burial," such as "Purple passes away and eating comes to an end, but vengeance endures" (120).

The felicity of Mr. Preble's translation will strike every reader; no less the learning displayed by Dr. Jackson in the long historical introduction and the copious bibliography. As to the much disputed identity of Bernard of Cluny, in spite of Dr. Jackson being unconvinced of it, I see no reason to change the opinion I expressed in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1907. Dr. Jackson does not commit himself, although he seems to incline toward an English origin for Bernard. But his historical methods leave something to be desired. What value, for instance, can be attached to this judgment: "There is no direct proof that our Bernard had any English blood in his veins, *as he might be expected to have had were he born in Brittany*" (4)? In arguing for the possibility of Bernard's English origin he makes the point that Bernard's sermon on the Unjust Steward is dedicated to Matthew, *bishop* of St. Alban's. But St. Alban's was not raised to the dignity of a bishopric until modern times, in 1877 to be exact. The church was an abbey not a cathedral; moreover it was Benedictine from its foundation in 795, and is not enumerated in the list of Cluniac abbeys and priories of the "province" of England and Scotland. The Cluniacs had no foundation there (see Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, I, 36–37). The Matthew whom Bernard honored with his sermon, was Matthew, bishop of Albano in Italy and papal legate in France in 1129 (cf. Suger, *Vita Ludovici* VI, *Grossi*, ed. Molinier, 100–1; Suger, *Liber de administratione*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, chap. 3; Mansi, XXI, 397–84; LeBœuf, *Histoire de Paris*, IV. 2–4; Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections épiscopales*, 121–22).

More colorable claim for Bernard's English lineage is afforded by his lines to Simeon, Abbot of York. Yet when one remembers the intimate connection between Cluny and England, the number of its houses there, and the large number of English students who crossed the channel to study at Cluny, among whom the most famous were Harding and Stephen Langton, the argument from Simeon seems a frail one. Cluny was international in its influence and drew many Italians and Germans, as well as English, to its cloisters. The count Wolnuth to whom Bernard dedicated the lines on p. 188 was certainly a German, for the name is German and the allusion to St. Hermes, the patron saint of the Tyrol, almost conclusive.

There are some less important errors to be noted. John Casimir (mentioned on p. 55) was the elector palatine and not the duke of Bavaria. Who ever heard of a Protestant duke of Bavaria? It is odd that a scholar so acquainted as is Dr. Jackson with the history of the Reformation, should fail to recognize Warsaw under its Latin form (locative case) *Starovesiae* (63). There is a missing word in l. 5, p. 20; a proof error in the word "catalogue," three lines from bottom of p. 20; and another in the footnote on p. 187. Finally may I express regret that the Latin original has not accompanied the translation.

When the Great Schism came to an end, the authority of the papacy found itself compromised by numerous decrees of the Council of Constance. The policy of the new pope, Martin V, at first was to avoid pronouncing upon the rights of the council or upon the validity of the decrees in question. But in 1418 he denied the superiority of the council over papacy in matters of faith. The conflict was thus joined between the two powers, and there were not a few keen observers of the ecclesiastical struggle who looked for some sort of popular government for the church as a result of the issue. No pages of the work[2] before us are of greater interest than those which elaborate this thesis.

As so often had happened before in the history of the church, the result was largely conditioned by the influence of secular politics. Martin V looked with suspicion upon the choice of Pavia as the next place for the council to meet, having good reason to doubt the duke of Milan. When the council of Pavia met on April 23, 1423, it was unable to sit there on account of the plague, and the pope, to the discomfiture of the council, took the initiative by fixing upon Siena, to the elation of the latter. But though farther removed from Milan, the situation was yet tense. The active inter-

[2] *Le pape et le concile* (1418–50). Par Noël Valois. Tome premier. Paris: Alphone Picard et Fils. 1909. xxix+407 pages. Fr. 20.

vention in its affairs by the king of Aragon, the arrival at Siena of the archbishop of Rouen and the delegation of the University of Paris, precipitated a crisis, and in spite of the fact that the Sienese closed the gates of the city, the council adjourned to Basel. The pope was the actual author of the dissolution, and M. Valois goes most interestingly into the clever duplicity of Martin V (76–80) in this particular.

It was his plan to prevent any conciliar action by forcing the council continually to move from one point to another; and in the interim to strengthen his own hand. This he did by overtures to the emperor and other German princes, to the English government, the duke of Milan and the University of Paris, with the hope of safeguarding the prerogatives of the Holy See.

At this juncture, the pope died and was succeeded by Eugene IV, March 3, 1431. New political developments came to the rescue of the new pope. The Austro-Burgundian war was centered around Basel, and moreover there was intense Catholic interest in the revolt of Bohemia. Before it had a chance to do anything the pope dissolved the Council of Basel, to the chagrin of the conciliar party, which protested to the powers against the pontifical action, and finally in its second session denied the papal right to dissolve or prorogue the council and continued to sit. In vain did Eugene IV turn toward France, whose clergy was assembled at Bourges (March–April, 1432). The French clergy leaned toward the council, and the attitude of Castile and England was unequivocal. The arrogance of the council increased to such an extent that the pope even hoped for international intervention in the interest of conciliation. His isolation was great. The cardinals continued to desert the court of Rome, and apparently Eugene IV was on the verge of being stripped of all his authority, when a sudden change of wind on the part of Charles VII came to save him from utter humiliation.

In temporal affairs the position of the papacy was quite as reduced. The loss of the March, the revolt of Forli, the conquests of Sforza in Umbria and Tuscany, the devastations committed by Fortebraccio around Rome, left the pope no rest. In despair, he thought of compromising with Sforza in order to turn him against his other foes. To crown all, the Romans rebelled on May 29, 1434 and established a republic. The question of the union with the Greek church was another source of friction. Nevertheless, Eugene IV refused to yield to the council.

This first volume concludes at this juncture. As a historical work it is amazingly documented and is written with that clarity so characteristic of modern French scholarship. One cannot help comparing it with its

two great competitors in the field, the works of Pastor and Creighton. M. Valois is not a papal partisan like Pastor, and endeavors to hold the balance even in the conflict between the council and the pope. Unlike Creighton's work, which abounds in skilful portraiture and much culture history, the book before us is a solid but somewhat dry narrative of church politics and diplomacy in the fifteenth century. The intricate negotiations here set forth are the prototype of those tedious negotiations that preceded the grand treaties of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On pp. 27–29 of the introduction, there is a brief yet valuable résumé of the sources used, almost all of which are in manuscript.

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In this romantic history[3]—the counterpart of the historical romance—Mrs. Cust has produced a work evincing equal scholarship and literary skill. Her subjects are found not on the highway but in the byways of history; her heroes wander through Europe as private gentlemen, though they come into contact with many of the important personages and public events of their time. But it is not so much their impressions of these men and actions as it is their record of the everyday life, the manners and morals of the many peoples they visited, that is illuminating. The author illustrates her work with a profusion of notes drawn from almost all the memoirs and books of travel from the time of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini to that of Swinburne, though she has missed one of the most valuable of these in overlooking the diaries and letters of Albert Dürer, full of brilliant pictures of Venice and the Netherlands. Again, the Bohemian knight's description of London and its fair dames furnishes an excellent but unused chance to quote from Dunbar's contemporary poem. As the author freely uses the epistles of Erasmus, it strikes one as a little odd that those of the reformers are entirely neglected.

But on the whole her reading has been wide and her illustrations are happy. It is rather in a certain carelessness of political history that her limitations are felt. Especially in the third story, that of the adventures of Count Frederick II of the Palatinate, it is astonishing to see with what lightness all the important actions of that critical period are passed over. The reader would like to know whether, when Frederick returned to Heidelberg in 1518, he saw Martin Luther, who was there during the last

[3] *Gentlemen Errant: Being the Journeys and Adventures of Four Noblemen in Europe during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* By Mrs. Henry Cust. London: John Murray, 1909. xix+551 pages.

days of April. The important part played by the count at the diet of Augsburg in 1530 is scarcely hinted at. In describing the visit to Henry VIII in 1533 Mrs. Cust has added very little to her principal source (Ed. von Bülow's *Fürstenspiegel*, 1849), although materials which would have added color and body to the narrative lay ready to her hand in Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (mentioned once or twice but not thoroughly used) and other accessible books. For example, Count Stanislaus Lasco, a member of a famous family, is mentioned simply as a "Polish pan"—by the way is it not objectionable to use the foreign word "pan" without any hint that it means "lord" (358)? The young Englishman who associated so much with Frederick's secretary had just returned from a mission from Henry to Luther on the question of the monarch's divorce, but this and other interesting matters are entirely ignored.

But the excellences of this fascinating book far outweigh its defects. The first three tales are thrilling melodramas; the last an excellent comedy. Not since the inimitable wit of Carlyle played upon the career of Frederick the Great has the British Clio worn a broader smile than in this story of poor Hans Schweinichen and his debt-driven duke.

The editing of this famous satire[4] is good; the English version, in a slightly archaic and sufficiently vulgar diction, gives as accurate an idea as possible of the humorous barbarism of the original. The notes, for the most part drawn from Böcking's fine edition of the *Epistolae*, are generally excellent, though the editor is too ready to assume that an unusual word is an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. "Parasel," for example (a corruption of the Italian *bargello*), which he says (168) is not to be met with elsewhere, actually occurs in Luther's table talk (Förstemann & Bindseil, *Luthers Tischreden* [1848], IV, 689).

The historical introduction adds nothing to the work of previous investigators, and indeed is not always familiar with their labors. Mr. Stokes still hesitates (xlviii) as to the date of the publication of the first series of letters. We supposed that it had been settled for the autumn of 1515 by the articles of Bauch (*Buchdruck in Tübingen*, 217 f., and an article in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XV [1898], 301) which are unknown to Mr. Stokes. He follows Brecht in making Hutten the author of the later letters and Crotus Rubeanus of the first series, but he cites very poor support for the authorship of the latter, entirely overlooking the most convincing

[4] *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum: The Latin Text with an English Rendering, Notes, and an Historical Introduction.* By Francis Griffin Stokes. London: Chatto & Windus, 1909. lxxiii + 560 pages.

proof, that, namely, given in a letter from Crotus to Luther, December 5, 1520 (printed by Böcking I, 433, and Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, III, 8).

I suspect that Mr. Stokes overrates the importance of the book. Among the opinions in its favor quoted by him, he passes very lightly over the censures of Erasmus, and fails to mention the opinion of Luther, who thought the letters "inept" and "containing no truth" (Enders, I, 60, 62).

PRESERVED SMITH

PARIS, FRANCE

To Krehbiel's essay on *The Interdict* and to that by William S. Robertson on *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America* was awarded in equal division the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European History for 1907, a prize awarded every two years by the American Historical Association. Half of Krehbiel's book[5] is given up to the treatment of the subject under the four heads: "Origin and Theory of the Local Interdict"; "The Laying of an Interdict"; "The Interdict in Force"; "Moderation and Relaxation of the Interdict"; the other half is devoted to an appendix containing Interdicts 1198–1216, a critical bibliography and an index.

In the volume under discussion, Dr. Krehbiel has given us a careful study and systematic presentation of the subject within the limits which he set for himself. His work has been referred to as an "epoch-making volume," and while one might dissent somewhat from so strong a phrase, there can be no hesitation in saying that the essay unquestionably constitutes a valuable contribution. A noticeable feature, also, is the conservatism of statement displayed throughout. All through the essay one seems to be conscious of a determination on the part of the author not to overstate his case; to be conservative, not to claim for the interdict a greater frequency of use or a greater power as a political weapon than the evidence will warrant. In this aim, if aim it was, the author is eminently successful. No one can accuse him of straining his evidence. On the contrary, if any claim can be made in this connection, it would be that the author has not made as much out of his evidence as he might—but of this later.

In another respect, indeed, the author seems to have been less fortunate than in this maintenance of a scientific restraint; he has suffered from his method of relegating source-material to the footnotes and the Appendix. This exclusion of source-material from the text helps to leave the impression,

[5] *The Interdict, Its History and Its Operation.* With special attention to the time of Pope Innocent III, 1198–1216. By Edward B. Krehbiel. Washington: American Historical Association, 1909. viii+184 pages. $1.50.

which one undoubtedly gets from a reading of the essay, that the author is presenting us with the theoretical aspects rather than the practical workings of the institution. Yet the author has kept the distinction in mind, nor has he omitted to present us with statements of the practical working of the interdict. But these fail somewhat of their effect because the source-passages are not placed immediately under the eye. They are concealed by an unexpanded or only slightly expanded reference in a footnote or by a reference to the Appendix. (Compare for example the references on p. 65 or the passages dealing with the effects of the interdict.) One gets an impression of being held away from the concrete instances, an impression not wholly removed by a study of the materials in the Appendix.

In one respect the volume is somewhat of a disappointment though perhaps necessarily so, and that is in its treatment of the question of the actual value to the pope of the interdict as a weapon. The treatment of this subject seems ineffective; an ineffectiveness due perhaps in no way to lack of research, but on the contrary to dearth of documents. In this connection, however, the absence of any reference to the manuscript materials of the Vatican Archives is significant. However this may be it is certainly due in part to a scattering of material. If Dr. Krehbiel had collected the various passages showing the effects of the interdicts, the joy of the people at their removal, the difficulties experienced by the popes in getting ecclesiastics to obey them in opposition to their municipal or kingly rulers, the popes' frequent employment in their own territories of armed force to enforce an interdict, the results would have been appreciably more satisfactory. We cannot help regretting that the author did not attempt to deal more at length with this question of in how far the interdict was a reliable weapon as employed by the bishops and especially by the pope.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

The compendium of theology[1] by President Schultze of the Moravian college at Bethlehem, Pa., professes to be "the first work of this kind written in the English language by a member of the oldest Protestant church founded by the followers of John Huss in 1459." This fact alone is sufficient to create an interest in it. Without making special claims to

[1] *Christian Doctrine and Systematic Theology.* By Auguste Schultze. Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1909. x+279 pages.